A MORPHOLOGICAL AND SYNTACTIC ANALYSIS OF A MANTUA, ALABAMA IDIOLECT

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF ATLANTA UNIVERSITY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR

THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS

BY

PATRICIA ELAINE BONNER

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH

ATLANTA, GEORGIA

DECEMBER 1981

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

Table

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to determine the morphology and certain syntactic features of a Mantua, Alabama idiolect. An informant has been chosen for this study on the basis of his race, age, locality, and limited exposure to other geographic and social dialects. These are the characteristic criteria of American dialectologists interested in recording and studying obsolescent or restricted dialects or idiolects. The informant is an eighty-eight-year-old black male who is a native of Mantua, Alabama. One of nine children, he stopped formal schooling after completing the third grade. While in Mantua, he had almost no contact with people who spoke other dialects. The speaker is related to the investigator and was relaxed and intimate in conversation, largely unhampered by hypercorrection by adjustment to an unfamiliar dialect.

In order to determine the morphology and syntactic

features of the informant's idiolect, the investigator made a tape recording of the speaker in informal conversation. The informant's text will be presented in International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) with interlinear transcriptions to standard English orthography. The text will be followed by a morphological analysis of all parts of speech which in English are subject to inflection. There will be a discussion of syntactic divergencies from other dialects, including white Alabama dialects and "Standard English." Evidence and interpretations will be summarized in the conclusion.

The Informant

The informant, Mr. Jimmy Morrow, was born June 26, 1892, in Mantua, Alabama. Mantua is a small town located in southern Alabama with a population at present of approximately 1,500. The informant lived there for sixty years.[1] In 1952, he moved to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, where he lived for eight years. In 1960, he moved to Birmingham, Alabama, and has resided there until now.

---

[1]A map of southern Alabama is found in Appendix A.

Mr. Morrow's parents were the children of slaves. One of nine children, the informant stopped formal schooling after completing the third grade, and started working on his father's farm.

In 1916, Mr. Morrow married Zula Owens and began share-cropping, farming, and "working out" in order to provide for his family, which grew quickly. By 1933, there were twelve children.

During his sixty years of residence in Mantua, the informant had almost no contact with people who spoke other dialects. Not until 1952 did he change his location significantly. At the death of his wife in 1955, when he moved to Tuscaloosa, Alabama, he worked at McLester Hotel as a waiter and dishwasher for three years. He next became a janitor for the City Board of Tuscaloosa for five years. At age sixty-eight, Mr. Morrow retired and moved to Birmingham.

Since the informant has been in Birmingham, he has not held a steady job, but has worked at odd jobs. When the recording of the text took place on Saturday, February 21, 1981, Mr. Morrow was eighty-eight years old and in good health and spirits. Today, Mr. Morrow

lives with his oldest daughter, Mrs. Emma Lee Harville, in Birmingham, Alabama.

Recording of the Text

During the past twenty years, the portable tape recorder has emerged as a basic instrument in the study of regional and social dialects, so that today its presence is one of those casually accepted facts of linguistic fieldwork. The machine has become standard equipment for dialectology in the Billieron tradition and an indispensable tool for the study of sociolinguistics and other linguistic variables.[2] A tape recording was made of the speaker in informal conversation. This recording provides the sample for this study.

The conversation recorded had three participants: Mr. Morrow, the informant; Mrs. Emma Lee Harville, his daughter; and the investigator, his granddaughter. Mrs. Harville was extremely helpful by frequently stimulating and refreshing his memory. The informant was delighted to recall his history, provided the investigator questioned him about specific experiences.

---

[2]Lee Pederson, "Tape/Text and Analogues," American Dialect Society, 49 nos. 1-2 (1976):6.

In attempting to evoke the range of the informant's idiolect, the investigator had to totally engross him in a conversation about his past. Since Mr. Morrow has been in Birmingham for twenty-one years, he has acquired a moderate handling of standard grammar. For example, he adds the plural morphene to regular nouns only when he is speaking slowly and is consciously making a "correct" choice of wording. Therefore, before the tape recording was made of the text for this study, my aunt and I had to talk him into a past frame of mind. This preparation took fifteen minutes.

This text was composed to provide not only evidence to be analyzed, described, and evaluated according to a prescribed methodology, but also retrievable data for other interpretations. The stories appearing in this thesis were chosen because they typify Jimmy Morrow's idiolect both syntactically and morphologically.

CHAPTER II

THE TEXT

The Text Adapted to Standard English Morphology and Syntax

I = Informant

P = Investigator

E = Informant's daughter

Numbers = Utterances from the Text in IPA

I1	Not my daddy now, my grandaddy.
P	Well tell me something.
I2	Well ask me something.
P	Tell me about your grandaddy.
E	About men in slavery and those folks whipped him and all of that.
I3-4	Yeah, my grandaddy Ben, he was bought down here in Romlus.
P	How far is that from here?
I5	Oh, it's down there where I used to live, in Romlus.
E	He was sold down there wasn't he?

I5 Huh?

E He was sold there wasn't he?

I6 No, he was sold in Tuscaloosa.

E Oh, sold in Tuscaloosa. I thought he came from Georgia.

I7-17 Yeah, he came from Georgia, and who his mother and daddy were, we don't know. He was just sold to old man Ed Robinson, down here in Romlus. He raised him in Tuscaloosa County. He bought him in Tuscaloosa. Now, he said when they left Georgia, I don't know, it was ten or twelve of them. They were just little bitty men, you know. They sold some of them out on the road. They didn't cost much. And when they got down here in Tuscaloosa County, they didn't have anybody but Ben. And when they got to Tuscaloosa, and they bid him off, they put him up on a big rock yonder in Tuscaloosa.

E At the courthouse.

I18-19 Yeah, at the courthouse. And he was sold there. And old man, what is his name?

E Ed Robinson.

I20 Ed Robinson bought him.

P For how much?

I21-24 For a thousand dollars. He was a great, big fat boy. And then after that, why, they worked him in the fields and in the ditches and everywhere.

P Tell me about what happened in the ditch.

I25-27 Well, he said he was ditching one day. They sent him down there to ditch. He said he was throwing good, but it wasn't suiting the man.

P What do you mean throwing?

I28-45 Throw a heap. Throw a heap of times. Get a heap of it on his shovel. He told him to get a little on the handle. While Ben was filling the shovel up, he told him to let a little run on the handle, you know. So he said, "Yes sir." He kept on doing that. He said, "Uh, Ben." Ben answered, "Yes sir." He said, "Come here." They came out and tied him to a tree down there in his bottom land with a rope and whipped him unmercifully. And put him back in that ditch. He said when they put him back in that ditch, he throwed the dirt. He said that he reckoned a little of it was up on the handle. He sure did whip him just badly, just badly, whipped him badly. And then they put him to work in different places. He would work. He taught him how to work. And after then, he got big enough for the army and they put him on the ride-away, on which people ride with horses. And his boss man, the old general, wasn't there. The old general was up somewhere else.

P What do you mean by general?

I46-50 Well, he was over this boss man. He was the general, the general boss. And he said that he came in. And just a little before he got there, he said he had bought two ears of corn from a man and shelled it and put it in a skillet. He was going to parch it on a fire on top of the log heaps. And that boss man came in and took the frying pan and just threw it up. He threw it all out, just threw it up.

P Why?

I51 Just because he said he didn't need it.

P What?

I52-63 He said he didn't need it. And he jumped on him and whipped him. About that time, the old general walked up and said, "Hey, hey here,

what's the matter here?" He said, "I bought two ears of corn and was parching here, and he threw it out and I jumped on him. He said, "You ought to have killed him." He didn't have anything to eat. He would just eat whatever they would give him. Something to eat wasn't plentiful back then like people have to eat now. One would eat parched corn, raw potatoes. . . .

P Raw potatoes?

I64-75 Yeah, raw potatoes. One would eat anything he could get a hold of; black-berries, dew-berries. He said that he had a time. But he got over that though, and grandpa grew up and married old Miss Liz Bess Burton. They separated. Grandpa left here and nobody knew where he was. He left here and went up in the country somewhere. He got on a boat and went somewhere. And they just said he would be back. And in a year's time, he came back home. Everybody was glad to see him. That was after my mama's mother died. He just left here just like folks hunting work.

P Tell me about when you had to go to Tuscaloosa to get rationed food from the government.

I76-79 Eutaw. Old Zack Campbell was driving a bus, a truck then. He carried us all to Eutaw to get our grocery: meat, lard, flour, everything like that.

P You say you bought some corn?

I80-83 No, I raised the corn. I had a crib of corn; a crib, a house full, you know. I kept that corn. Your grandmother said, "Well, why don't you let that corn go and you'll just be out of it." I said, "No."

P Why didn't you let it go?

I84-99 Well, because I just had so many children, I couldn't keep getting bread, I would get something else. And I kept that corn. The old boss man came up there and said, "Jimmy, I thought you were going to pay for the corn." I said, "Well, I am going to pay for the corn." I said, "Just as soon as I get a chance, I'm going to pay for it." I don't know how I got the money, but anyway, I paid that sixty dollars for that crib of corn. And Ernest Spencer told them to come and get his crib, but they never did come and get it. He never did stop eating it up. He just ate all his up. And they didn't do anything about it. But I had to pay that sixty dollars because I had promised it, you know. I said, "Well, I don't want to let my corn go, I have all these children here." I said, "They have to be fed." I said that I was going to keep my corn. I asked them, "What do you all want for it?" They said, "Well you just pay us sixty dollars." Now that was for a big crib of corn. It was just full of good corn.

P How long would that crib of corn last you?

I100-103 Oh Lord, until one would make some more. Yeah. I would use it to go to the mill and feed my hogs and cows on. Yeah. And so, I just got to working somehow, and paid that sixty dollars. And I paid for that corn. I sure did. But everything else, the mule and everything, they took it.

P Why?

I104 Well, because of my debt. I couldn't make enough cotton to pay for everything.

P And they took your mule?

I105 Yeah, they took mine and Andy Smith's.

P How did you make it then?

I106-115 Oh, I went and got me another mule. I went to Thornton King and bought two little old mules, little old Spanish mules. And then I gave them up to him. I got tired. The government took me up before then. I went and got Don Chamber to advance me. I had plenty of corn. I didn't have to get anything but some meat and lard and flour and sugar, like that. I had to get a little coffee. We were not drinking much coffee then, your grandmother and I. And so, I just lived some type of way. It just so happened that I had some corn that would make three and four ears to a stalk. Well, I called myself going to save some of it for another year for seed. I had a little old junk house built out in the field. It was just out there. Do you know that those folks didn't ever see that corn?

P They didn't?

I116 And I kept that too.

P What would have happened if they would have seen it? (Repeat)

I117-119 Well, they could have gotten it. I could have given it to them, but they didn't see it. They didn't speak about it. And so I had that for us to live on and plant another year. Aw child, I had a time, I'm telling you the truth. Then, I would work out sometimes a day or two. I would work in the farm. I just had it rough, but I was able to go then.

P You had your health? (Repeat 3 times)

I120-130 Aw yeah, I had my health then. I could go. And I didn't know how to take advantage of anything, like a heap of people. Now a heap of people would have had this kind of luck. They went on and bought land and said that they were just going to try to pay for it through the government. So Ernest Spencer

bought down there. He had a lot of timber on his land. And later on, the saw mill came through there and Ernest Friday's daddy said, "How much do you owe?" Mr. Friday said, "I don't know." He said, "You go and see how much you owe and then I'm going to tell you what I'm going to give you for your timber." He went on. Mr. Eben didn't know what he had his land run up for. Accounts would run up. So, one would have to see how much he owed for it. So he counted it and went back and gave it to Friday. And Friday gave him I don't know how many hundred dollars. Then, he had five or six hundred dollars left to live on, he and May Francis. He had that to live on with all of his children.

P What's the most money you ever had at one time?

I131-132 Oh my God, I don't know. I would guess two or three hundred dollars, that's all. But I would have to get rid of it. I had to pay my debts. I couldn't keep it.

P You ever had a thousand dollars in your hand?

I133 No. I haven't ever had a thousand dollars in my hand, not a thousand dollars. Oooh, if I had a thousand dollars, I don't know what I would have done.

P Grandaddy, do you know that a lot of people make a thousand dollars a month?

I134 Now, I know they do.

P But back then, that would have been a lot of money, huh?

I135-137 Aw yeah. Fifty dollars would have been something. I was working for old Milo's son up there and I had fifty dollars worth of time in and when pay day came, he didn't pay me.

P Why?

I137-146 I don't know why. He just didn't pay me. I didn't worry about it. I went home and told my daddy about it. He went up there and talked with him and said, "You ain't paid Jimmy." Milo's son said, "Tell Jimmy I said to come up here." I went up there and he paid me that fifty dollars. I don't know why, but he wouldn't pay any attention to me that payday. No. He wouldn't pay me. And your Uncle Ben and I had been working, working, working, working, and I knew I needed my money. I needed it. And he paid me. It just happened the Lord just fixed it so he had to pay me, you know. He could have gone on. If he had of gone on, I wouldn't have done anything.

P Why?

I147 It wasn't anything to do but go and try to make some more.

P When did you start fishing? (Repeat)

I148-152 Oh, I have always fished some. My brother, Willie, and I have always fished. Now on a Saturday evening and some Saturday mornings, my daddy would let us go to the river. And we could catch them too. Yes Lord. Willie and I have caught many a fish. Sometimes we would go at night.

P Have you ever seen any turtles?

I153 Aw yeah. I've caught many turtles. I have caught turtles since I have been here in Birmingham.

P Really?

I154 Uh, hum.

P What is the biggest turtle you have ever seen?

I156-161 Aw, I don't know. I saw one. He was bigger than that radio box there. I saw one once. They were working on the railroad, and they ran upon him in the mud and killed him and had him laying out. I bet you he was that high off the ground. There used to be turtle days. I never did find out the turtle days. Mr. Willie Cab and them, they know turtle days, they would go and hunt them, find them, and catch them. They would be out there.

P Turtle eggs?

I162-164 No, they would just hunt turtles. They have a traveling day. And they would find turtles. They would go get all the turtles they wanted. I used to like those things. I reckon I like. . . .

P Do you eat turtles?

I165 Yeah I eat turtles. I gave Lucille a turtle down here. She cleaned it. A lot of people eat turtles.

P Do you eat snakes?

I166-167 Not as I know of. They say that these pink salmon are snakes. I don't know. (Repeat) I don't know what they are.

I168-171 Well Pat, I don't know hardly what to tell you because so many things have slipped my remembrance. And I can't even think back what it is, or how it was. Some of it was tough. I tell you, it was tough. People just lived the best they could, the best they knew how to live.

P What about today in Birmingham? (Repeat)

I172-179 Aw, since I have been in Birmingham, I have done all right. I have worked some since I've been here. I haven't had a job since

I've been in Birmingham. I would work, build a little chimney for folks. I would also fix porches and things like that. I went to Reform. My cousin, Sylvester, hired me to cover his house, and I covered it.

P Who taught you how to do all these things?

I180-183 Well, I just saw other folks do it. I just learned it. And I built another chimney for a lady down there. It was a brick chimney. I don't know whether or not she tore it down. I can't think of that woman's name now.

THE TEXT IN THE INTERNATIONAL PHONETIC ALPHABET

WITH TRANSLITERATION TO STANDARD ORTHOGRAPHY

1 na may dædi naw, may grændædi.
Not my daddy now, my grandaddy.

P wɛl ɬɛl mi səmɪn.
Well tell me something.

2 wɛl æs mɪ səmɪn.
Well ask me something.

E baw mɪn ɪn slevri æn dɛm fok wʊp dɛm æn ɔl dæt.
'Bout men in slavery and them folk whipped him and all that.

3 yɛə, may grændædi bɪn, yə no, a,
Yeah, my grandaddy Ben, you know, ah

4 hi wəz bôt dawn hə ɪn ramnəz.
he was bought down here in Romlus.

P haw fa ɪz dæt frəm hie?
How far is that from here?

5 o, hit daw nə wə ay yus tə lɪv, ɪn rəmnəz.
Oh, it down there where I use to live, in Romlus.

E hi wəz sol daw nə wəɛn i?
He was sold down there wasn't he?

6 nɔw, hi wəz sol dɪn təskəlusi.
Naw, he was sold in Tuscaloosa.

E ay ðo hi kəm frəm ǰɔǰə.
I thought he come from Georgia.

7 yɛa, hi kam frəm ǰɔǰə.
Yeah, he come from Georgia.

8 æn hu hɪz məðə ən dædi wi don no.
And who his mother and daddy, we don't know.

9 hi ǰɛs sol tu ol mæn ɛd rabɪnsən, dawn hɪə ɪn rɔmləz.
He just sold to old man Ed Robinson, down here in Romlus.

10 rez dɛm ɪn təskələusi kawni, rez ɪm. i bɔ dɪm ɪn təskələusi.
Raised him in Tuscaloosa, raised him. He bought him in Tuscaloosa.

11 naw hi sɛd wɛn de lef ǰɔǰə
Now he said when they left Georgia

12 ay dono, tɛn a twɛl ə ɛm.
I don't know, ten or twelve of them.

13 ǰɛs lɪl bɪdi mɛnz yu no.
Just little bitty mens you know.

14 de sol səma dɛm aw ɔn də rod,
They sold some of them out on the road.

15 de dɪɛn kɔs məč, sol dɛm awt on də rod,
They didn't cost much, sold them out on the road.

16 æn wɛn de gat dawn hiə, wɛn de gat hiə ɪn təskələusɪ kawni,
And when they got down here, when they got here in Tuscaloosa County,

dɪn hæv nobadi bə bɪn.
Didn't have nobody but Ben.

17 æn wɛn de gat tə təskələusɪ, æn de bɪd ɛm ɔf
And when they got to Tuscaloosa, and they bid him off;

dɛ put ɛm əp on ə bɪg rak, yan ɪn təskələusɪ.
they put him up on a big rock, yonder in Tuscaloosa.

E æt də kodaws.
At the courthouse.

18 yɛə, æt də kodaws, æn ə, wəz sol dɚ.
Yeah, at the courthouse, and ah, was sold there.

19 æn ol mæn, a, whača kol dæt?
And old man, ah, what you call that?

E ɛd rəbɪnson
Ed Robinson

20 ɛd rəbɪnsən bɔ dɪm.
Ed Robinson bought him.

P fa haw məč?
For how much?

21 fa e ðawsɪn dalə. hi a gred bɪg fæt bɔy.
For a thousand dollar. He a great big fat boy.

22 æn dɪn, æftə dæt, way, də mæn lɛf.
And then, after that, why, they man left.

23 æn ol mæn ɛd rabinsən wɘk tɛm
And old man Ed Robinson worked him

24 ɪn də fil æn ɪn də dɪčɛz, æn ɛvəwɘ.
In the field and in the ditches, and everywhere.

P tɛl mi bawt wət hæpɪn ɪn ðə dɪč.
Tell me 'bout what happen in the ditch.

25 wɛl, whə hæpɪn ɪn də dɪc, hi, a
Well, what happen in the ditch, he, ah

26 hi sɛd hi wəz dɪčɪn wən de
He said he was ditchin' one day

27 de sɪn ɛm daw nɛr tə dɪč, hi sɛd
they sent him down there to ditch, he said

hi wəz ðoɪn gud bə, ɪt wən suɪŋ də mæn.
he was throwing good but it wasn't suiting the man.

P whača min ðoɪŋ?
What you mean throwing?

28 ðo ə hip, ðo ə hip a taym.
Throw a heap, throw a heap of time.

29 gɪt a hip a ɪt on ə šɛvəl, hi tol ɛm gɪ ə lɪl
Get a heap of it on the shovel, he told him get a little

ɔn də hænɛl.
on the handle.

30 way bɪn fɪl də šəvəl əp æn dɛn
While Ben fill the shovel up and then

31 lɛt ə lɪl rən on də hænɛl ya no.
let a little run on the handle you know.

32 so hi se, yɛs sə, hi ǰəs kɛp on duɪn næt.
So he say, yes sir, he just kept on doing that.

33 hi se yə bɪn, yɛs sə, se kam hɛə.
He say, "Oh Ben," yes sir, say, "come here."

34 de kom awt n tayd ɛm tə ə tri dawn nɛr,
They come out and tied him to a tree down there,

æn ə, ɪn ɪz badəm,
and uh, in his bottom,

35 wɪ də rop æn wɹpt ɛm ənməsɪfəl.
with a rope and whipped him unmerciful.

36 æn put ɛm bæk ɪn dæt dɪč.
And put him back in that ditch.

37 hi sɛd wɪn yu put ɛm bæk ɪn dæt dɪč,
He said when you put him back in that ditch,

38 yu tɔkɪn baw ðoɛn dɚt, hi ðodə dɚt.
You talking 'bout throwing dirt, he throwed the dirt.

39 hi se i rɛgɛn a lɪl ɚ ɪt wə əpən də hænəl.
He say he reckon a little of it was upon the handle.

40 hi šo dɪd wɹp ɛm ǰəs bæd, ǰəs bæd,
He sure did whip him just bad, just bad,

wɹp dɛm bæd. æn dɪn æfə dɛn, hi ə
whipped him bad. And then after then, he ah

41 pɹt ɛm tə wɚk ɪn dɪfɪn plesɛz. hi wɚk.
put him to work in different places. He work.

42 hi lɛrt ɪm haw tə wɚk. æn a dɛn, æftə dɛn,
He learned him how to work. And ah, then, after then,

43 hi gat bɪg ənəf fa də ami æn de pɹt ɛm on də
He got big enough for the army and they put him on the

rayd əwe, wha ča, wha pipəl rayd wɪt hɔsɪz.
ride away, what you, what people ride with horses.

44 æn a, hɪz bɔs mæn, də ol ǰɛnəl wəṇ dɚ.
And ah, his boss man, the old general wasn't there.

45 də ol ǰɛnəl, hi wəz əp we səmwɚ els.
The old general, he was up way somewhere else.

P wača min bay ǰɪnəɪl?
What do you mean by general?

46 wɛl hi wəz ovə dɪs bɔs mæn.
Well he was over this boss man.

hi wəz də ǰɛnəl, ǰɛnəl bɔs.
He was the general, general boss.

47 æn a, hi sed hi kəm ɪn,
And ah, he said he come in,

48 æn ǰəs lɪl fo hi ga dɛr, se hæ dən bɔ
and just little before he got there, say had done bought

tu iəz ə kɔn frəm ə mæn
two ears of corn from a man

49 æn ŋ šɛl ɪt ŋ pʊt ɪt ɪn ə skɪlɛt
and, and shell it and put it in a skillet

æn gon pač ɪt on ə fay, on dæ dɛm lɔg hip.
and going to parch it on a fire, on that them log heap.

æn dæt bɔs mæn kom ɪn
And that boss man come in

50 ǰɛs tuk də frayɛn pæn ǰɛs ðod ɪt əp, ðod ɪt
just took the frying pan just throwed it up, throwed it

ɔl awt, ǰɛs ðod. hɪt wɛn təp.
all out, just throwed. It went up.

P way?
why?

51 ǰɛs koz hi dɪŋ nid ɪt.
Just because he didn't need it.

P wat?
What?

52 se hi dɪŋ nid ɪt,
say he didn't need it,

53 ŋ i ǰəmt on ɛm æn wʊpt ɛm.
and he jumped on him and whipped him.

54 bawt dæt taym də ol ǰɪnəl wɔkt əp æn se
'bout that time the old general walked up and say

55 he, he hɪə, wəs də mædə hɪə?
Hey, hey here, what's the matter here?

56 wəs də mædə hɪə?
What's the matter here?

57 hi se ay bɔt tu iəz a kɔn æn wəz
He say I bought two ears of corn and was

pačɪn hɪə æn hi ðod ɪt awt, æn
parching here and he throwed it out, and

58 ay ǰəmpt on ɛm. hi se yu ɔw ta kil dɛm.
I jumped on him. He say you ought to kill him.

59 dæts wət də ǰɪnəl tol dɛm.
That's what the general told him.

60 yu ɔw ta kɪl dɛm,
You ought to kill him,

ðoɛn yo kon awt dæt awe.
throwing your corn out that away.

61 hi dɪn hæv nən tə it,
He didn't have nothin to eat,

jɛs it wədɛvə dɛy gɪv ɪm.
just eat whatever they give him.

62 səmn t it wən plɪnifəl lɔŋ æn dɛn
Something to eat wasn't plentiful long and then

lɪk pipəl it naw.
like people eat now.

63 yu it pač kon, rɔ potedə
You eat parch corn, raw potatoe

P rɔ pətedəz?
raw potatoes?

64 yɛə, rɔ pətedə, yeə. ɪniðɪŋ yu gɪt ə hol əv.
yes, raw potatoe, yes. Anything you get a hold of.

65 blæk bɛri, du bɛri, yɛə.
Black-berry, dew-berry, yeah.

66 hi se hi hæd e taym, bə hi gat ovə dæt do.
He say he had a time, but he got over that though.

67 æn dɛn grænpa gat əp, æn so hi mærɪd
And then grandpa got up, and so he married

ol mɪs lɪz bɛs bədən. æn dɛy sɛpəredɪd.
old Miss Liz Bess Burton. And they seperated.

68 grænpa lɛf hiə æn dɪn nobadi no wə hi wəz.
Grandpa left here and didn't nobody know where he was.

69 dɪn nobaydi. lef hiə æn wɪn əp də cəntri səmwə.
didn't nobody. Left here and wen up the country somewhere.

70 ga don ə bot æn wɪnt səmwə.
Got on a boat and went somewhere.

71 æn dɛ jəs se hi wud bi bæk.
And they just say he would be back.

72 æn ɪn ə yeəz taym, hi kəm bæk hom.
And in a years time, he come back home.

73 æn evəbadɪ wəz glæd tə si ɛm.
and everybody was glad to see him.

74 hi, a, dæt wəz æftə may maməz məðə dayd, a
he, ah, that was after my mama's mother died, ah

75 hi ǰɛs lef hiə, yu no.
He just left here, you know.
ǰɛs layk fok həŋ wərk, æn
Just like fold hunting work, and

P tɛl mi abawt win yu hæd tə go tu təskəlusə
Tell me about when you had to go to Tuscaloosa

æn gɪt ræšən fud fram də gəvəmɪnt.
and get rationed food from the government.

76 yutɔ. a, yɛə, wi hæd tə pe, ol zæk kæmɪl.
Eutaw. Ah, yeah, we had to pay, old Zack Campbell.

77 hi wəz drayvɛn ɛ bəs, e trək dɪn, wi
He was driving a bus, a truck then, we

78 hi kæd əs ɔl tə yutɔ tə gɪt ɔə grošri.
he carried us all to Eutaw to get our grocery.

79 mit, lad, flawə, evəðɪŋ layk dæt.
meat, lard, flour, everything like that.

P yu se yə bɔt səm kɔn?
You say you bought some corn?

80 no, ay rezɪn də kon; a, ay hæd ə krɪb a kon.
No, I raised the corn; ah, I had a crib of corn.

81 æz wi kɔl ɪt a krɪb, e haws fel yə no.
As we call it a crib, a house full you know.

82 æn a, ay kɛp dæt kon.
And ah, I kept that corn.

83 yo grænmɔ se wɛl way don ču lɛ dæt kon go?
Your grandma say well why don't you let that corn go?

yu ǰɛs bi aw də ɪt. ay se no.
You just be out of it. I say no.

P way yu dɪŋ lɛ dɪt go?
Why you didn't let it go?

84 wɛl bekɔ ay ǰɛs hæd so mɪni čɪlɪn
Well because I just had so many children

ay kuŋ ǰɛs kip a
I couldn't just keep a

rənɪn bawt ɔl də taym gɪŋ bred, a,
running about all the time getting bread, ah,

ay gɪt səmɛn ɛls.
I get something else.

85 ɪn ay kɛp də kon. æn dɪn ǰəs si,
and I kept the corn. And then just see,

86 də ol bɔs mæn kəm əp dɛr æn se, a
the old boss man come up there and say, ah

87 ǰɪmi, ay ðɔt yu wəz gon pe fa də kon?
Jimmy, I thought you was going to pay for the corn?

88 ay se wɛl ay ɪz gon pe fa də kon.
I say well I is going to pay for the corn.
89 ay se ǰɛs æz sun æz ay gɪt də čænz
I say just as soon as I get the chance

ay se aym on pe ɪt.
I say I'm going to pay it.

ay don no haw ay gat də məni, bət ɪniwe
I don't know how I got the money, but anyway

ay ped dæt sɪksti dalə fə dæt krɪb a kon.
I paid that sixty dollar for that crib of corn.

90 æn ənɪs spɪnsə, hi tol ɛm tə kəm gɪt hɪz
And Earnest Spencer, he told them to come get his

91 æn de nɛvə dɪd kɔm gɪt ɪt.
And they never did come get it.

92 hi nɛvə dɪd kwɪt iɛn ɪ dəp.
He never did quit eatin it up.

hi ǰɛs ɛt ɔl ə ɛz əp. ǰɛs ɛt ɔl ɛz kon əp.
He just ate all of his up. Just ate all his corn up.

93 æn dɛy dɪn du nən baw dɪt. bət ay hæd ə
And they didn't do nothing about it. But I had to

pe dæt sɪksti dələ kɔ ay pramɪs ɪt yu no.
pay that sixty dollar because I promise it you know.

94 ay se, wɛl, ay se ay don wan a lɛt mə kon go.
I say, well, I say I don't want to let my corn go.

95 ay gat ɔl dɪz čelən hiə, ay se dɛy gat a bi fɛd.
I got all these children here, I say they got to be fed.

96 ay se aymo kip may kon.
I say I'm going to keep my corn.

97 ay se wa ʧɔl wo fa ɪt?
I say what you all want for it?

98 se, wel yu ʃɛs pe əs sɪksti dɔlə.
Say, well you just pay us sixty dollar.

naw dæt wəz ə krɪb. ay hæd ə bɪg krɪb tu.
Now that was a crib. I had a big crib too.

99 ɪt ʃɛs fʊl ə gʊd kɔn.
It just full of good corn.

P haw lɔŋ dæt wud læs ʧa?
How long that would last you?

100 o lɔd, əp əntɪl yə mek səm mo. yɛa.
Oh Lord, up until you make some more. Yeah.

101 go də mɪl tə fid may hɔgz on, kaw, yɛə.
Go to the mill to feed my hogs on, cow, yeah.

102 æn so ay ʃɛs lɛ, ay ʃɛs a, ga tə wəkɪŋ rawn
And so I just let, I just ah, got to working around

səm sɔdə we æn pe dæt siksti dɔlə.
some sorta way and paid that sixty dollar.

æn ay ped fa də kɔn. ay ʃo dɪd.
And I paid for the corn. I sure did.

103 bət eveðɪŋ ɛls, də mul æn eveðɪŋ, de tʊk.
But everything else, the mule and everything, they took.

P way?
Why?

104 wɛl on may dɛt. ay kuŋ mek ənəf kadŋ
Well on my debt. I couldn't make enough cotton

tə pe fə evəðɪŋ.
to pay for everything.

P æn ðe tʊk yo mul?
And they took your mule?

105 yɛə, de tʊk mayn æn ændi smɪðɛz, æn a
Yeah, they took mine and Andy Smith's, and ah

P æn haw dɪd yu mek ɪt ðɪn?
And how did you make it then?

106 o, ay wɪn æn gat mi ənəðə mul.
Oh, I went and got me another mule.

107 ay wɪn tə ðon kɪŋ æn bɔ tu lɪl ol mulz,
I went to Thorn King and bought two little old mules,

lɪl ol spænɪs mul.
little old Spanish mule.

108 æn dɪn ay gɪv dɛm əp tə hɪm. ay ga tayd.
And then I gived them up to him. I got tired.

109 də gəvəmɪn tək mi əp dɪn, fo dɪn, æn, a
The government took me up then, before then, and, ah

110 ay wɪn æn ay a, ga dən čembə tə væns mi.
I went and I ah, got Don Chambers to advance me.

111 ay hæd plɪntɪ a kon. ayɪn hæd tə gɪt nəðŋ
I had plenty of corn. Ain't had to get nothing

bə səm mit, æn lad æn flawə æn šəgə
but some meet, and lard and flour and sugar

layk dæt, lɪl kɔfi.
ike that, little coffee.

112 wi wəŋ drɪnkŋ məč kɔfi dɪn,
We wasn't drinking much coffee then,

mi æn yo mɔ, mi æn yo grænmamə.
me and your ma, me and your grandmama.

113 æn so ay jɛs lɪv səm sɔdə we. æn a
And so I just live some sorta way. And ah

114 hæp ay hæd, ə, səm kon mek trɪ æn
happen I had, ah, some corn make three and

fo iəz tə e stɔk.
four ears to a stalk.

wɛl, ay kɔl maysɛf gon sev sama hɪt fa
Well, I call myself going to save some of it for

ənəðə yiə fə sid.
another year for seed.

115 naw ay hæd a lɪl ol jənk haws bɪld aw dɪn də fil,
Now I had a little old junk house built out in the field,

æn hɪt jəs aw də, yu no dɛm fok nɛvə
and it just out there, you know them folk never

dɪd si dæt kon?
did see that corn?

P de dɪn?
They didn't?

116 æn ay kɛp dæt tju.
And I kept that too.

P wat wʊd hæv hæpɪn ɪf ðe wʊd hæv sin ɪt?
What would have happen if they would have seen it?

117 wɛl, dɛy kʊd a gat ɪt. ay kʊd a gɪa ɪt tu ɛm
Well, they could have got it. I could have give it to them

yu si, bə dɛy dɪn si ɪt.
you see, but they didn't see it.

de dɪn spik əbaw dɪt.
They didn't speak about it.

118 æn so ay hæ dæt fə əs tə lɪv on æn plænt
And so I had that for us to live on and plant

ənəðə yiᵊ. ɔ čayl, ay hæd a taym
another year. Aw child, I had a time

aym tɛlɪn yu də tru. dɪn ay wər awt
I'm telling you the truth. Then I work out

səmtaym ə de ə tu. wərk ɪn də fam.
sometime a day or two. Work in the farm.

119 ay jɛs hæd ɪt, ay hæd ɪt rəf, bət ay wəz
I just had it, I had it rough, but I was

ebəl tə go, dɪn.
able to go, then.

P yu hæd yo hɛl?
You had your health?

120 ɔ yeə, ay hæd may hɛl dɪn. ay kʊd go.
Aw yeah, I had my health then. I could go.

121 æn ay dɪn no haw tə tek də vanɛj əv, a, nən.
And I didn't know how to take the advantage of, ah, nothing.

layk a hip a pipəl.
Like a heap of people.

122 naw a hip a pipəl wʊd hæd, a, jɛs hæd dis kaynd ə lək.
Now a heap of people would had, ah, just had this kind of luck.

dɛy wɪn əhɛd æn bɔt læn æn dɪn jɛs se
They went ahead and bought land and then just say

de ǰɛs gon ə ɬray ɬə pe fə ɪɬ θu də gəvəmɪn.
they just going to try to pay for it through the government.

123 so ərnɛs spɪnsə, hi bɔɬ dayn dɛr.
So Earnest Spencer, he bought down there.

124 hi hæd a lat əv ɬɪmbə on hɪz læn.
He had a lot of timber on his land.

125 æn letə on, də sɔ mɪl kom θu deᵊ.
And later on, the saw mill come through there.

126 æn, a, ərnɛs frayde dædi se
And, ah, Ernest Friday's daddy say

127 sez ərnɛs, sɛz a, haw məč du yu o?
Says Ernest, says ah, how much do you owe?

se mɪstə frayde, ay don no. se yu go æn
Say Mister Friday, I don't know. Say you go and

si haw məč yu o. dɪn aym o ɬɛl yu
see how much you owe. Then I'm going to tell you

wəɬ aym o gɪa yu fə yo ɬɪmbə.
what I'm going to give you for your timber.

128 hi wɪn on. mɪstə ibɪn dɪn no wəɬ hi hæd
He went on. Mister Eben didn't know what he had

læn rən up fə. kawnz rən əp.
land run up for. Accounts run up.

129 si haw məč yu o fə ɪɬ. so hi kawnɪd ɪɬ
See how much you owe for it. So he counted it

æn go bæk æn gɪd ɪ ɬə frayde.
and go back and gived it to Friday.

130 æn frayde gɪd ɛm ay don no haw mɪni hənrɪd dalə.
And Friday gived him I don't know how many hundred dollar.

dɛn hi hæd fayv a sɪks hənrɪd dalə lɛf ɬə lɪv on,
Then he had five or six hundred dollar left to live on,

hɪm æn me frænsɪs. hæd dæɬ ɬə lɪv on wɪd
him and May Francis. Had that to live on with

hɪm æn ɔl hɪz čɪlən.
him and all his children.

P was də mos məni yu ɛvə hæd æɬ wən ɬaym?
What's the most money you ever had at one time?

131 o, may gad, ay don no, ɬu a θri hənɪd dalə
Oh, my God, I don't know, two or three hundred dollar

dæts ɔl, bət ay hæd tə gɪt rɪd a ɪt.
that's all, but I had to get rid of it.

132 ay hæd tə pe may det. ay kʉn̩ kip ɪt.
I had to pay my debt. I couldn't keep it.

P yu evə hæd e θawzən daləz ɪn yo hæn?
You ever had a thousand dollars in your hand?

133 nɔ. nɔ. ə ə. ɛn nɛvə hæd a θawzɪn
naw. naw. uh, uh. Ain't never had a thousand

dalə ɪn may hæn. na no θawzən dalə.
dollar in my hand. Not no thousand dollar.

ɪ ayd ə hæd ə θawzɪn dalə
If I'd of had a thousand dollar

ay don no wat ay wʉd ə dən.
I don't know what I would have done.

P grændædi, du yu no ðæt e lat ə pipəl
Grandaddy, do you know that a lot of people

mek ɛ θawzən daləz ə mənð?
make a thousand dollars a month?

134 naw, ay no de du. yɛə.
Now, I know they do. Yeah.

P bət bæk ðɪn dæt wʉd a bɪn ə lat əv məni, hə?
But back then that would have been a lot of money, huh?

135 ɔ yɛə. dæt wʉd a bɪn, fɪdi dalə
Aw yeah. That would have been, fifty dollar

ə bɪn sən̩.
would have been something.

136 ay wəz wəkɪn fə o mayloz sən əp deə
I was working for old Milo's son up there

æn ay hæd fɪti dalə wə ðə taym ɪn,
and I had fifty dollar worth of time in,

æn wɪn pede kom, hi dɪn̩ pe mi.
and when payday come, he didn't pay me.

P way?
Why?

137 ay don no way. hi jɛs dɪn̩ pe mi.
I don't know why. He just didn't pay me.

138 ay dɪn̩ wəi baw dɪt.
I didn't worry about it.

ay wɪn hom æn tol may dædi baw dɪt.
I went home and told my daddy about it.

139 hi wɪn əp də æn tɔk wɪt ɛm æn hi a,
He went up there and talk with him and he, ah,

hi se, yu en ped ǰɪmi.
he said, you ain't paid Jimmy.

140 se, tɛl ǰɪmi ay se kəm əp hiə.
Say, tell Jimmy I say come up here.

141 ay wɪn əp də æn hi ped mi dæt fɪfti dɔlə.
I went up there and he paid me that fifty dollar.

142 ay don no. hi wʊn̩ pe no tɛnčən tə mi dæt pe de.
I don't know. He wouldn't pay no attention to me that pay day.
no. hi wʊn̩ pe mi.
No. He wouldn't pay me.

143 æn mi æn yo ənkəl bɪn hæd bɪn wəkŋ̩, wəkn̩, wəkn̩
And me and your uncle Ben had been working, working, working
æn ay nod ay nidɛd may məni. ay nidɪd
and I knowed I needed my money. I needed

ɪt æn hi ped mi.
it and he paid me.

144 ǰəs hæpən, ay don no, ǰɛs
Just happen, I don't know, just

145 də lɔd ǰɛs fiks ɪt so hæ tɑ pe mi, yu no.
the Lord just fixed it so had to pay me, you know.

146 hi kʊd æv wɪn on, ɪf, ay, hæd a wɪn on,
He could have went on, if, I had of went on,

ay wʊnə dən nəɪn.
I wouldn't have done nothing.

P way?
Why?

147 wən̩ nən̩ tə du bə go tray tə mek səm mo.
Wasn't nothing to do but go try to make some more.

P wɪn dɪd yu stat fɪšɪn?
When did you start fishing?

148 o, ayv ɔlwez fɪš̍ səm. mi æn may brəðə wɪlli
Oh, I've always fish some. Me and my brother Willie

wiv ɔlwez fɪš̍.
we've always fish.

149 naw on ə sædi ɪnɪn æn səm sædi monɪn,
Now on a Saturday evening and some Saturday morning,

may dædi lɛt əs go tə də rɪvə.
my daddy let us go to the river.

150 go dawn dɛr tə də rɪvə tə fɪš̍.
Go down there to the river to fish.

æn wi kʊd kɛč̍ ɛm tu. yɛs lawd.
And we could catch them too. Yes Lord.

151 mi æn wɪlli kɔt ə mɪni fɪš̍.
Me and Willie caught a many fish.

152 səmtaym wi go æ nayt.
Sometime we go at night.

P yu evə sin ɪni tɚdəlz?
You ever seen any turtles?

153 ɔ yɛə, ayv kɔt a mɪni tɚdəl.
Aw yeah, I've caught a many turtle.

ay kɔt tɚdəl sɪns ay bɪn hɪə.
I caught turtle since I been here.

P rɪli?
Really?

154 ə həm.
Uh, hum.

P wəts də bɪgɛs tɚdəl yu ɛvə sin?
What's the biggest turtle you ever seen?

155 ɔ ay don no. ayv sin wən.
Aw I don't know. I've seen one.

156 ɔ, hi wəz bɪgə dɛn dæt dɚ redio baks deə.
Aw, he was bigger than that there radio box there.

157 sin wən wəns de wəz wəkɳ on də relrod
Seen one once they was working on the railroad

æn de rən əp on hɪm ɪn də məd æn kil dɪt.
and they run up on him in the mud and killed it.

158 æn hæd ɛm leŋ awt. ay bɛt yu hi wʊz dæt
and had him laying out. I bet you he was that

hay ɔf də grawn. tɝdəl, ə, hə.
high off the ground. Turtle, uh, huh.

159 deᵊ yus tə bi tɝdəl dez.
There use to be turtle days.

160 ay nɛvə dɪd fayn awt də tɝdəl de.
I never did find out the turtle day.

161 mɪstə wɪli kæb nɛm, de no tədəl dez,
Mister Willie Cab n' them they know turtle days,

de go hən ɛm, fayn ɛm æn kɛč ɛm.
they go hunt them, find them and catch them.

dey bi awt dɚ.
They be out there.

P tɝdəl egz?
Turtle eggs?

162 nɔ, ǰɛs hən tədəl. dɛy gat a trævlɪn de.
Naw, just hunt turtle. They got a traveling day.

æn de fawn tɝdəl. dɛy go gɪt ɔl də
And they found turtle. They go get all the

tɝdəl dɛy won.
turtle they want.

163 ay uz tə lɪk dɛm ðeŋz .
I use to like them things.

164 ay rɛkən ay lɪk
I reckon I like

P yu it tɝdəlz?
You eat turtles?

165 yɛa ay i tɝdəl. ay gɪd lusil tɝdəl dawn hɛə.
Yeah I eat turtle. I gived Lucille turtle down here.

ši klin ɪt. ə həm. la də pipl it tɝdəl.
She cleaned it. Uh, hum. Lot of people eat turtle.

P yu it snegz?
You eat snakes?

166 nat æz ay no əv. dɛy se diz penk sæmən
Not as I know of. They say these pink salmon

ɪz snek. ay don no.
is snake. I don't know.

167 ay don no wə de ɪz.
I don't know what they is.

168 wɛl pæt, ay don hadli no whə tə tɛl yə
Well Pat, I don't hardly know what to tell you

bi kɔs, ay ǰɛs, ə, so mɪni ðeŋz dən slɪp
because, I just, ah, so many things don slip

may rəmɛmbrəns.
my remembrance.

169 æn ay ken ɪvɪn ðɪnk bæk wa ɪt ɪz ə haw ɪt wəz.
And I can't even think back what it is or how it was.

æn som a ɪt wəz gʊd æn som ə ɪt wəz təf.
And some of it was good and some of it was tough.

170 ay tɛl yu ɪt wəz təf.
I tell you it was tough.

171 pipəl ǰɛs lɪv də bɛs dɛy kʊd,
People just live the best they could,

də bɛs dɛy nod haw tə lɪv. ə həm.
the best they knew how to live. Uh hum.

P wət ebaw tude ɪn bəmɪŋhæm?
What about today in Birmingham?

172 o, sins ay bɪn ɪn bəmɪŋhæm ayv dən ɔlrayt.
Oh, since I been in Birmingham I've done alright.

173 ayv wət sam sɪnz ay bɪn hiə.
I've worked some since I've been here.

174 ay hævən hæd a ǰab sinz ay bɪn ɪn bəmɪŋhæm.
I haven't had a job since I been in Birmingham.

175 ayv wə, bɪl ə lɪl čɪmni fa foks.
I've work, bill a little chimney for folks.

176 fiks poč̌ɛz, layk dæt.
Fis porches, like that.

177 æn ay wɪn tə rifəm.
And I went to Reform.

178 may kəŋ, səvɛstə hay mi tə kəvə hɪz haws.
My cousin, Sylvester hire me to cover his house.

179 hi haydənəðə fɛlə tə hɛp mi tə kəvə hɪz haws
He hired another fellow to help me to cover his house

æn ay kəvəd ɪt.
and I covered it.

P wu tə čʷu haw tə du ɔl ðiz ðɪŋz?
Who taught you how to do all these things?

180 wɛl ay ǰʷɛs si əðə foks du ɪt.
Well I just see other folks do it.

181 ay ǰʷɛs lərn ɪt. yɛə. æn ay bɪl ənəðə
I just learn it. Yeah. And I built another

čʷɪmni fə ə ledi daw hə̀. brɪk čʷɪmni.
chimney for a ladi down here. Brick chimney.

182 ay ken ðenk ə də wəmən nem naw.
I can't think of the woman name now.

CHAPTER III

MORPHOLOGY

Introduction

Five parts of speech can be inflected in English: (1) noun, (2) pronoun, (3) adjective, (4) adverb, and (5) verb. For each, this morphological analysis will review the fundamental pattern in English, determine the pattern of inflection in the text, discuss the divergences from standard English, and it will also compare the evidence found with linguistic reports of black and Alabama speech.

This approach, however, does have limitations. One impediment is the brevity of the text. The text is too brief to draw any firm conclusions from the absence of any form. For example, there is no occurrence of "whom" in the text and probably none in the informant's active vocabulary. "Whose," also, does not occur in the text, but is known to the researcher as present in the idiolect. The possessive pronoun, /maynz/, may exist in the idiolect in "free" variation with /mayn/.

There are other cases in which the text may not reflect all the informant's variants.

Another limitation of this approach is that the statement of the standard English morphology will be oversimplified. Therefore, details relevant to the refinements of English inflection may require mention when looking at individual parts of speech. For example, the pronoun "he" is often articulated in Standard English, and in this text, as /i/.

It is also possible that too much may be made of rare instances of conflation, which may simply reflect a "slip of the tongue." Patent cases have been edited out of the text. For example:

(110) ay wɪn æn ga ᵛčən, a, dən ᵛčebəz tə væns mi.

I went and I got chun-uh-
Don Chambers to advance me.

will occur as:

(110) ay wɪn æn ay ga dən ᵛčebəz tə væns mi.

I went and I got Don Chambers
to advance me.

Dubious cases, however, will be retained in the text. For example, the researcher is unable to clearly understand the informant when he says:

(121) æn ay dɪn̩ no haw tə tek də (or səd) vænɛʃ av, a, nən̩

and I didn't know how to take advantage (or the vantage?) of nothing.

Therefore, this phrase will appear as the researcher interprets it.

Finally, linguistic studies of black and white Alabama speech do not exactly parallel one another in scope and conclusions, so that the full degree of similarity or dissimilarity cannot be determined with assurance. Nevertheless, some conclusions can be established with confidence.

Despite all these limits to a full study, it is possible to establish the general outline of the informant's morphology, and to compare it with his geographic and racial peers.

Nouns

The most frequently employed plural forms of nouns in standard grammar are the phonologically conditioned allomorphs /-s/, /-z/, and /əz/. A singular form ending in a sibilant--/s/, /z/, /š/, /ž/, /c/, /ǰ/ --is followed by /əz/ (in many dialects /ɪz/). As for the remaining allomorphs, /s/ follows any voiceless

phoneme and /-z/ follows the voiced phoneme. In addition to these regular phonologically conditioned plurals, there are several small groups of morphologically conditioned, "irregular" plurals. Several common nouns form their plural by a replacive allomorph, e.g., men, oxen, children. Another group has unmarked plurals, e.g., deer, fish.[1]

Many nouns do not take the possessive forms, since an "of" structure often is required rather than the suffix. When marked, the possessive morphene is always identical with the phonologically conditioned plural allomorph.[2]

"In Black English, the plural survives with vigor. All black people have well-established plurals, but there are marginal ways in which their usage may vary from Standard English."[3]

(1) "Irregular plurals of standard English are

---

[1]Norman Stageburg, An Introductory English Grammar (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965), p. 117.

[2]Robbins Burling, English in Black and White (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973), p. 50.

[3]Ibid., pp. 50-51.

sometimes regularized."[4] There are no instances of this in our text.

(2) "Where black speakers use a special regular pronunciation of the singular, their plural may, by regular phonological conditioning, be affected also."[5] In the text, the word "accounts" (128) has no final "t." Consequently, the plural allomorph is /z/ rather than /s/: /kawnz/.

(3) The literature has well established, however, that Black English allows a discretionary use of the plural morpheme. Characteristically, plurals may be unmarked whenever the context unambiguously dictates plurality.[6] This is evident in general and in the text with nouns following numbers. Examples: In the text, there are 13 cases of "dollar" being unmarked, e.g. (89) æn pe dæt siksti dalə, and paid that sixty dollar, (21) fa a ðawzin dalə, for a thousand dollar, and (135) fɪfti dalə ə bɪn səmn̩, fifty dollar (would h)a(ve) been something.

The possessive may also be omitted in unambiguous

---

[4]Ibid., p. 51.

[5]Ibid., p. 51.

[6]Ibid., p. 51.

contexts. This option is not exercised as frequently as the unmarked plural. Many black speakers use the possessive sometimes, but omit it at others. But possession is indicated. Black speakers use other English markers of possession, especially "of." Many black speakers also express possession simply by putting the name of the possessor directly in front of the name of the possessed without a morphologically explicit sign of possession at all.[7] This text confirms scholars' observations by two examples: (183-- de wəmən nem), the woman's name; (126)-- ənɛs frayde dædi), Ernest Friday's daddy. The informant's morphological system for nouns is consistent with the summary analysis of Robert Burling in English in Black and White.[8]

There were 42 instances of unmarked plurals and 14 instances of regular marked plurals.[9]

In most instances where the plural is unmarked, the noun, if marked, would have either the allomorph /-s/, or /-z/.

---

[7]Ibid., p. 50.

[8]Ibid., pp. 48-74.

[9]These occurrences are shown in Table 1, Morphology of the Nouns, p.43 of this thesis.

The marked plural nouns in the "general" case, as opposed to the marked singular possessive, were few, but important for their variety. The /-s/, /-z/, and /əz/ allomorphs are present in the informant's grammar (see Table 1).

There were two words with marked irregular plurals. The informant uses the exact form of an irregular noun, "men" /mɪnz/ (13) which is extremely common in black speech.[10] "Children" is also an irregular noun for the informant, /ˇčələn/ (84). This form, too, is well attested in black speakers.

After sibilants /s/, /ˇš/, /ˇč/, /z/, /ˇž/, and /ˇǰ/, when standard English would require a whole new syllable (either /ɪz/ or /əz/), the plural noun in this text is almost always marked, with the exception of places /ples/ (41).

All other marked plurals occur after a voiced phoneme, and are therefore pronounced as /z/, except for two instances of the word "folks" /foks/ (180).

---

[10]Ralph W. Fasold and Walt Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," In Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy (eds.): Teaching Standard English in the Inner City (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970), pp. 46-47.

These occurred at a moment when the informant was speaking very slowly, and was perhaps consciously making a morphological choice.

Most words which would require /s/, occur with unmarked plurals. Some examples are: heap /hip/ (49), snake /snek/ (166) bis, debt /det/ (132), and folk /fok/ (180).

There were five cases of possession without preposition occurring in this text. The informant's use of the possessive morpheme appears to be optional.

MARKED	IPA	L. No.
Year's time	yiəz ṭaym	(72)
Mama's mother	maməz məðɚ	(74)
Andy Smith's	ændi smɪðɛz	(105)
UNMARKED	IPA	L. No.
Woman name	wəmən næm	(176)
Ernest Friday daddy	ɚnɪs fraydi dædi	(125)

In two instances, the informant clearly shows possession by position only. In another instance, he hyper-corrects a noun (105): də ṭək mayn æn ændi smɪðɛz . Still in other instances, he uses the standard method of showing possession: (72) æn ɪn ə yi^{ə}z ṭaym,

(74) maməz məðə: Of course, his regular possessives are formed the same way as the plural.

There were no instances of the marked or unmarked genitive plural.

Pronouns

Table 2 presents all the forms of personal pronouns in standard English and the informant's usage in the IPA.

Most of the apparent divergences of the informant's paradigm from standard English merely reflect phonological principles widely attested in Black and Southern speech:

(1) "your" and "yours" /yo/ and /yoz/ due to the absence of the post vocalic /r/. Even though this occurrence is traditionally associated with "Southern speech," its distribution is complex, and universal (83).[11]

(2) "their" and "theirs" /deə/ and /deᵊz/ and "them" /ɛm/ due to the absence of /r/ and to his deletion or replacement of every /ð/ with / d/ (56) abd (17).

(3) "it" /hɨt/ is commonly attested in the regional dialect. It occurs in emphatic and even in unemphatic positions (99).[12]

---

[11]Raven I. McDavid, "Changing Patterns of Southern Dialect," in Anwar Si Dilwar (ed.): Varieties of American English: Essays by Raven I. McDavid, Jr. (California: Stanford University Press, 1980), p.53.

[12]L.W. Payne, Jr., "A Word List From East Alabama," Dialect Notes 3 (1912):284.

TABLE 1

MORPHOLOGY OF NOUNS

PLURAL

MARKED		UNMARKED	
13	mens	21	dollar
24	ditches	28	time
43	horses	49	heap
48	ears	63	potatoe
57	ears	64	potatoe
84	children	65	berri (bis)
95	children	75	folk
101	hogs	78	grocery
114	ears	89	dollar
128	accounts	93	dollar
130	children	98	dollar
159	days	101	cow
163	things	102	dollar
175	folks	115	folk
176	porches	130	dollar (bis)
41	places	131	dollar
		133	dollar
		132	debt
		135	dollar

TABLE 1--Continued

136 dollar

141 dollar

133 dollar

149 morning

153 turtle

158 turtle

162 turtle

162 thing

165 turtle

165 turtle

166 snake

GENITIVE SINGULAR

MARKED		UNMARKED	
72	year's time	183	woman name
74	mama's mother	126	Earnest Friday daddy
105	Andy Smith's		

GENITIVE PLURAL

There are no occurrences of marked or unmarked plurals in the text.

Table 2. Morphology of Pronouns: A Comparative Table of Standard English Pronouns and Pronouns Occurring in the Text.

	Subject	Object	Prenominal Possessive	Substitutional Possessive
Singular				
1st	I ay, mi	Me mi	My may	Mine mayn
2nd	You yu, yɔl	You yu	Your yo	Yours yoz
3rd	He hi, i	Him ɪm	His ɛz	His hɪz
	She si	Her hɛᵊ	Hers həz	Hers həz
	It hɪt	It ɪm	Its hɪt	Its hɪt
Plural				
1st	We wi	Us əs	Our awᵊ	Ours awz
2nd	You yɔl	You yu	Your yo	Yours yoz
3rd	They de, ɪm	Them dɪm, ɪm	Their deᵊ	Theirs deᵊz
Interrogatives				
	Who wu	Whom	Whose	Whose
Relative				
	What wət	What wət		

(4) "him" /i/ and /ɪm/: The deletion of /h/ is even more common than its excrescence.

(5) "him" and "them" /ɪm/: Because the regional dialect does not distinguish ɪ/e before nasals, the unstressed forms /ɪm/ (singular) and /ɛm/ (plural) are not distinguished.[13]

Slightly more significant are the few occasions when usual distinctions are not observed.

(1) "you-all" for singular

(97) ay se waṭ yɔl wæn fa ɪṭ?

I say, "what youall want for it?"

(2) /ɪm/ for a neuter antecedent

(157) sin wən wəns de wəz wəkɪn on də

Seen one once they was working on the

relrod æn de rən əp on ɪm ɪn də

railroad and they run up on him in the

məd æn kil dɪṭ, æn hæd ɛm leŋ awṭ.

mud and killed it, and had him laying out.

(3) The first person possessive pronoun is /mayn/, not /maynz/ which is said to be characteristic of older Black English speakers.[14]

---

[13]In South and South Midland dialects, it is frequent that /ɪ/ and /ɛ/, when followed by a nasal, are identically articulated and represented in the International Phonetic Alphabet by /Ɪ/. All transcriptions of this study are phonemic rather than phonetic. Therefore, the vowel in question is always represented by /ɪ/ unless the investigator unequivocally heard an /ɛ/.

[14]Fasold and Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," p. 77.

The impersonal you (= "one") in most dialects can be used only in a general statement which could, theoretically, refer specifically to the person(s) addressed.[15] Example: "You never see turtles in Georgia." The informant, however, applies this form to a statement which absolutely excludes the addressee and refers to a single historical event. Example:

(37) You put him back in that ditch
yu pə dɪm bæk ɪn dæt dɪč

There is little evidence for the indefinite and interrogative pronouns. Only the forms "who" (as personal subject) and "what" (as non-personal subject and object) occur. There is no basis for assuming the existence of a "whom" nor for doubting the existence of "whose." ("Whose" occurs in other texts of the informant which, for reasons of concision, were not included in this study.) This finding is consistent with that of Payne in Dialect Notes. Neither "whom" nor "whose" is used by uneducated Alabamians.[16]

---

[15]M. Stanley Whitley, "Person and Number in the Use of 'We,' 'You,' and 'They,'" American Speech 53 no. 1 (1978):18-35.

[16]L. W. Payne, Jr., "A Word List from East AL," p. 284.

For the personal pronoun, almost all the standard forms exist, and none of the non-standard forms which are attested in both the Alabama dialect and black dialect. However, several instances demonstrate that the categorization or use of the forms is not rigidly fixed. Phonological factors help to explain the source of some convergences. For example: /ɪm/ singular and plural. However, the allomorph /ðɪm/ for the plural indicates that the convergence could be eliminated if it were considered ambiguous. Instead, we have occasional evidence, even in this small corpus, that this and other convergences are not found to be problematic; context always identifies the case of the pronoun unambiguously.

Adjectives

In English, the morphological comparison of adjectives (-er, -est) is generally restricted to words of one or two syllables. The analytic comparison (more, most) is used of most adjectives. A few adjectives have morphologically conditioned forms; e.g., good-better-best; bad-worse-worst.

Black speech is recorded to have common cases of

doubled inflection ("more better") and of regularizing irregular Standard English adjectives ("badder"). There is no evidence for either of these phenomena in the text.[17]

The most remarkable features of adjectives in the text is their infrequency. There is a very small inventory of descriptive adjectives:

(114)	old	(118)	rough
(21)	big	(13)	lil bitty
(21)	fat	(21)	great
(63)	parch	(62)	plentiful
(63)	raw	(107)	Spanish

The paucity of such adjectives reduces the evidence for the informant's morphological patterns in comparing adjectives. There is only one unambiguous instance: bigger.

However, there is some indication that superlatives are typically peraphrastic rather than morphological, but formed with words other than "very." ("Very" is completely absent from the text, despite numerous passages in which its force as intensifier could have been

---

[17]J. A. Harrison, "Negro English." In J. Dillard (ed.): Perspectives on Black English (The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton & Co., 1975), pp. 158-159.

applicable.) Examples of superlative qualifiers are:

great big (fat boy) (21)

little bitty (mens) (13)

so (many things) (162)

Adjectival determiners, especially for quantity, are very common: "some corn," "no attention," "a many fish," "a many turtle." (Note the inflection /ə/ which intensifies "many".)

There is little evidence in the text to demonstrate the informant's range of morphological alternatives for adjectives, or for his inflection of adjectives which are irregular or regular in Standard English. There is, however, some indication that lexical alternatives are preferred to the direct indication of comparison. Scholars have observed that large indeterminate quantity is indicated by words common in the United States, but particularly frequent in South and South Midland dialects. Some examples are: "a lot o" (Universal), "a heap of," "plenty a" and "a many."[18]

---

[18]Leah A. Davis, "Word Lists from the South," American Dialect Society 2 (November 1944):10-25.

LIST I

OCCURRENCE OF ADJECTIVES IN THE TEXT

109 old man

13 lil bitty mens (superlative)

17 big rock

21 great big fat boy (superlative)

23 old man

44 old general

45 old general

48 boss man

54 old general

63 parch corn

64 raw potatoe

67 old Miss Liz Bess Burton

76 old Zack Campbell

86 old boss man

98 big crib

102 some sort of way

62 something to eat wasn't plentiful

107 two little old mule

107 little old spanish mule

115 little old junk house

136 old Milo's son

156 bigger (comparison)

175 little chimney

107 two little old mule

111 little coffee

Numbers, the words 'much', 'many', 'some', and 'another' will be omitted from the discussion. These words are used as they would be used in standard grammar.

Adverbs

The adverbs were few but normal. The morphological designation of adverbs by the suffix "-ly" is almost totally absent from the text, with the exception of one occurrence--(168) "hardly"--which is probably a single morpheme for the informant. This absence is frequently permissible in standard grammar and is common in the actual speech of many Americans. Example:

(35) an whooped 'em unmerciful
an whipped him unmercifully

There are no passages suggesting comparative inflections in adverbs. The positive adverb "well" in standard English is in most contexts for most Americans "good." Example:

(27) He was thowing good.
He was throwing good.

It is noted that most of the informant's adverbs modifying a verb (18 out of 21) were the same word, "just." Some uses of "just" are clearly expressions of superlative "very," or "extremely." Example:

(40) whipped him bad, just bad,
whipped him bad.

Some uses are similar, but might be seen as the more common meaning, "merely." Example:

(13) jus lil bitty mens

Most times the meaning "merely," "simply," or "only" is clear. Example:

(180) I just see other folks do it.
(181) I just learn it.
(71) And they just say he would be back.

But other times, "just" means the opposite. It registers the shock, oddity, extremity of the fact it modifies. Example:

(50) Just took the fryin' pan, just throwed it up.

Of course, "just" also means "precisely." Example:

(75) Just like people hunting work.

In summary, the text indicates that a morphology for adverbs is almost totally absent. There was only one "-ly"; no comparatives and no morphologically marked superlatives occur. The morphology is replaced by phrases and particles, especially "just."

Verbs

The English verb allows four inflections on its base form. These are: (1) third singular person marker in the present tense; (2) the past tense marker;

LIST 2

OCCURRENCES OF ADVERBS IN THE TEXT

35 unmerciful

40 just bad (bis)

40 bad

50 just took

50 just throwed (bis)

61 just eat

71 just say

84 just had

75 just left

92 just ate (bis)

98 just pay

102 just let

113 just live

122 just going to

137 just didn't

145 just fix

27 throwing good

162 just hunt

171 just live

180 just see

181 just learn

168 hardly know

(3) the present participle; and (4) the past participle. Each of these inflections will here be discussed separately. A great number of verbs (397) occurred in the text. Consequently, a considerable amount of evidence about the informant's system of verbs was gathered.

Third Person Singular Marker in the Present Tense

In standard American English, the suffix -s (es) is used to identify the present tense of a verb if the subject of that verb is in the third person singular. This form follows exactly the same rules of phonological conditioning outlined above for the noun's plural and possessive morphemes. The paradigm is:

Singular	Plural
I walk	We walk
You walk	You walk
He walks	They walk

In a sense, the use of the suffix to mark present tense with third person singular subjects is an irregularity, since no suffix is used to mark present tense with other persons.

The paradigm in some black dialects is more regular:

Singular	Plural
I walk	We walk
You walk	You walk
He walk	They walk

It is important to realize that the -s suffix is not carelessly "left off" by some black speakers. This suffix is simply not part of the grammar of their idiolects.[19] The informant's non-marking of the third person singular is consistent with the findings of scholars on Black English. It was also found that uneducated Alabamians omit the mark of the third person singular.[20]

However, both in standard English and in the informant's usage, the verb "to be" offers special distinctions. The text displays (always in reduced form) the first person "am" /aym/. The standard English form /ɪz/, restricted to the third person, is the only form in the text for first person plural, second person singular, and plural, and third person singular and plural.

---

[19]Fasold and Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," p. 63.

[20]Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold, The Study of Social Dialects in American English (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc. 1974, pp. 191-192.

There is no evidence for /ar / in the text. /ɪz / also occurs in the text as an emphatic form for the first person singular.

Table 3. Present Tense of the Verb "Be".

	Standard	Informant
I	am	I'm/is
He/She/It	is	is
We/You/They	are	is

Past Tense of American Speech

In standard English, the past tense takes on numerous irregular, morphologically conditioned forms; e.g., shrunk, kept, led, began, built, knew. But the most usual allomorphs are /-t /, /-d/, and /əd/, as in "passed," "pleased," and "parted." These allomorphs of the past tense morphene are phonologically conditioned; that is, they take phonetic form depending on the preceding sound. After an alveolar stop, /t/ or /d/, the sound is /əd / (or /ɪd/ in many dialects). After a voiced consonant other than /d/ it is /d/.

Thus, although these three forms are identical in meaning, they are not interchangeable. The occurrence of one or another of them depends on its phonological environment.[21]

Standard English words ending in a consonant cluster or blend often have the final member of the cluster absent in Black dialect. This type of cluster reduction affecting the past tense forms does not result from grammatical differences but is the product of pronunciation differences in final consonant clusters. In some dialects, for example, words such as "fast" and "smelled" are pronounced / fæs / and / smɛl /, respectively. This "rule" holds that consonant clusters at the end of a word which consists of two voiced or two voiceless phonemes may drop the final phoneme. Hence, "hand" becomes "han," "fast" becomes "fas." This could and frequently does apply to all phonologically conditioned past tenses which call for /ŧ/ or /d/; e.g., Yesterday he move'away.[22]

---

[21]Norman Stageburg, An Introductory English Grammar, p. 115.

[22]Fasold and Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," pp. 43-44.

When -ed is added to a base ending in t or d, it is pronounced by most Americans something like /ɪd/ (e.g., "wanted," /wantɪd/, "counted," /countɪd/). In this form, it is rarely absent in black dialect. However, this ɪd form can be reduced to d alone in black dialect, Southern dialect, and also in standard English. In casual speech, the words "want" and "start" are eligible for these rules. If they apply, the ɪ sound of ɪd can be eliminated. The verb then ends in dd or td which is simplified to d. These operations result in sentences like:

He stard crying (From He started crying)
hi stad krayɪŋ

He wanda go home (From He wanted to go home)
hi wonda go hom

It is also noted that when -ed is phonetically t or d and is the second member of a consonant cluster as in Yesterday I burned my hand, both black, white and southern American speakers pronounce the burned as burn;

Yesterday I burn' my hand.[23]
yɛsterde ay bern may hæn

Another factor is the past tense semantic marking. No dialect distinguishes the past from the present in all

---

[23]Ibid., pp. 59-60.

circumstances. Not only does standard English have a few irregular verbs such as "hit" and "put" in which past and present are not distinguished, but there are times when the -ed that we write is not actually pronounced. Black English has many situations in which the past tense is not marked; however, when it is not clear from context the past is meant, it has to be marked. Black dialect, nevertheless, distinguishes the past from the present as securely as does any standard form.[24]

Past Tense of the Informant

The past tense of the informant was by far the most frequently used form of the verbs. There were many marked and unmarked past tense verbs. The informant's past tense form often differed from that of standard English. There were many irregular verbs in the informant's past tense that are regular in standard English. Example:

(42) "learned" occurred as "learnt" in the text.

---

[24]Robbins Burling, English in Black and White, p. 51.

There were also many regular verbs in the informant's past tense that are irregular in standard English.

Standard English	Text
gave	gived
knew	knowed
threw	throwed

Also occurring in the text were irregular past tense verbs in the informant's vocabulary that were also irregular in standard English, but different.

Standard English	Text
saw	seen
came	come
ran	run

The verbs "come" and "run" occurred frequently enough to seem to be the only form for the past tense and, hence, not capable of being marked. Therefore, they are listed here.

There were irregular verbs in the informant's vocabulary which preserved the irregularity in standard English. These were quite common (e.g., "bought," "told," "left," "kept," "thought").

There were also many verbs with unmarked past tense in Standard English which were always also unmarked in the text (e.g., "bid," "put," "cost," "bet").

The informant's past tense of "be" is always /wəz/ or /wə/ for all persons, singular and plural. His choice between /wəz/ and /wə/ is based on stress or phonemes in the context. That is, even when unstressed, /wəz/ generally occurs when the next phoneme is a vowel.

Some generalizations can therefore be made about the informant's past tenses.

1. The informant's marking of the preterite varies depending upon which allomorph applies to the particular verb.

2. His morphologically conditioned (i.e., "irregular") preterites are almost always marked.

3. There are a few verbs which have an irregular past tense in standard English, but are always unmarked in the text. This unmarked form may be the only form for these particular verbs in his vocabulary. Example: /kəm/ as past tense of "come."

4. There were almost no instances of /ɪd/ occurring in the text, either for verbs which would have /ɪd/ preterites in standard English, or verbs which would not. Exception: /nidɪd/, "needed" (138).

5. Final /ɬ/ or /d/, even in irregular verbs, goes with the next syllable whenever possible. Example:

(6) hi wəz soɪ dɪn ṭəskəlusi
He was sold in Tuscaloosa.

6. This gives added weight to the observations of scholars that the choice of whether or not to mark past tenses is partially governed by the phonetic context, because it shows that at the end of words these two phonemes are influenced by the vowel or consonant which follows.[25] It is with /ṭ/ and /ḍ/ suffixes that marking is optional. The suffix /ṭ/ is more commonly retained than /ḍ/. However, both are primarily responsive to phonological conditioning. When followed by a vowel, they tend to be represented; when followed by a consonant, they tend to be omitted. Examples:

(54) bawṭ dæṭ ṭaym də oɪ jɪnəl wɔkṭ əp
about that time the old general walked up.

(53) kən səvɛstə, hay mi ṭə kəvə hɪz haws.
cousin sylvester hired me to cover his house.

(54) hɪz haws æn ay kəvəd ɪṭ.
his house and I covered it.

7. The secondary factor governing the marking of the preterite is redundancy. If the context makes it clear that the time of the action is the past, the preterite need not be marked. Example:

---

[25]Wolfram and Fasold, The Study of Social Dialects, pp. 126-127.

(83) yo grænmɔ se wɛl way don ʧu lɛ
your grandma say well why don't you let
dæt kɔn go, yu ʃɛs bi aw də ɪt.
that corn go, you'll just be out of it.
ay se no.
I say no.

Present Participle

The present participle in standard grammar is the "-ing" form. Added to bases, it combines with seven of the eight forms of be--am, is, are, was, were, be, been--to make verb phrases. It is also used as a subjectless verbal; that is, when it is not the main verb and does not have a subject.[26]

The use of the -in suffix for -ing (e.g., singin', buyin') is a feature which is characteristic of all socially stigmatized varieties of English. Because of the spelling of /ŋ/ as ng, this is sometimes referred to as a "dropping of the g." Although /-ɪn/ occurs in all socially stigmatized varieties of American English, its frequency is greater in black dialect than in other non-standard dialects.[27]

---

[26]Norman Stageburg, An Introductory English Grammar, p. 108.

[27]Fasold and Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," p. 55.

The informant's present participle always employs the allomorph /ɪn/.

Past Participle

The morpheme of the past participle for many English verbs has a morphologically conditioned form. However, its regular, phonologically conditioned forms are identical with the past tense: /ṭ/, /d/, /ɪd/.

It is not necessary to review here the variety of irregular forms, because the informant's past participle is almost always identical with his past tense, even when the past tense form is irregular. Thus, "seen" and "went" are both past tense and past participle, just as "passed" is. Examples:

(156) ayv sin won
I've seen one

(146) hi kud æv wɪn on
He could have went on

The two exceptions in the text are "done" /dən/ vs. "didn't" /dɪn̩/ and "been" /bɪn/ vs. "was" /wəz/wə/. Examples:

(166) sɪns ay bɪn ɪn bəmɪŋham
since I've been in Birmingham

æn som ə ɪt
and some of it
wəz gud, æn som ə ɪt wəz ṭəf.
was good, and some of it was tough.

Furthermore, the choice of whether or not to mark the past participle is governed by the same rules of phonotactics (± a following vowel) and meaning (potential for ambiguity) that govern the past tense marking.

This identification of preterite with past participle conforms to the observations of Fasold:

> While it is quite clear that the tenses formed grammatically with have and had are part of Negro dialect, it is less clear whether or not there are past participles in its grammar. In standard English, most past participles are formed with the -ed suffix and so are identical with the past tense form. But there are a number of semi-regular and irregular verbs for which the past participle and past tense are formally distinguished (e.g., came versus has come; ate versus has eaten, etc.). In Negro dialect, however, it seems that there may not be any irregular verbs for which the past tense and past participle are distinct. Sometimes the standard English past participle form is generalized to serve both functions (He taken it; He have taken it), but more commonly the simple past form is used in both kinds of constructions (e.g., He came; He have came). For a few verbs, some Negro dialect speakers generalize the other (e.g., He done it; He have did it). It is possible, then, that the Negro dialect equivalents of the present and past perfect tenses are not formed with forms of have

> plus the past participle, but rather with a form of <u>have</u> plus a general past form.[28]

However, the informant's exceptions cast significant doubt on Fasold's hesitation to recognize a past participle at all.

In the verb "to do," the negative of the preterite is always distinct from the participle. Similarly, the distinction between preterite and participle is consistently maintained for the verb "to be." Furthermore, the syntactic principle which allows deletion of the copula and "have" can account for many ambivalent environments in which a participle appears to be a preterite. Example:

(-75) ay don no weə šɪ to ɪt
I don't know whether she tore it
dawn ə naṭ, naw.
down or not, now.

It seems, therefore, reasonably clear that, for verbs as for most other parts of speech, the informant has the use of all the categories of inflections possible, but has a vocabulary which adapts many individual items to a more regular, more consistent pattern.

---

[28]Fasold and Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," pp. 61-62.

TABLE 4

MORPHOLOGY OF VERBS

TENSES			ASPECTS			
GENERAL		PAST	INCOMPLETE		COMPLETED	
Persons	3rd P. Sing.					
2	ask	4 was (bought)	26	was ditching	4	was bought
5	hit	6 was sold				
6	don't know	7 come	27	was throwing	6	sold
28	throw	9 just sold	27	was suiting		
28	throw	10 raise	38	talking		
29	get	10 raise				
29	get	10 bought				
31	let	11 said				
31	run	11 left				
		12 it was				
		14 sold				
		15 didn't cost				
		16 got down				
		17 got				
		17 bid				
		17 put				
		18 was sold				
		20 bought				
		21 he a				
		22 left				
		23 worked				
		25 happen				
		26 said				
		27 sent				
		32 say				
		29 told				
		32 say				
		29 told				
		32 say				
		32 kept				
		33 say				
		34 come				
		34 tied				
		36 whipped				
		37 put				

TABLE 4---Continued

TENSES			ASPECTS	
GENERAL		PAST	INCOMPLETE	COMPLETED
Persons	3rd P. Sing.			
		38 throwed		
		39 say		
		39 reckon		
		39 was upon		
		40 sure did whip		
		40 whip		
		41 put		
		41 work		
		42 learn		
		43 got		
43 ride		43 put		
		44 wasn't		
		45 was		
		46 was		
		47 said		
		47 come		
		48 got		
		48 say		
		49 shell	49 going	48 had done
49 to parch		49 put	to parch	bought
		49 come		
		50 took		
		50 throwed		
		50 throwed		
		50 throwed		
		51 didn't		
		52 say		
		52 didn't need		
		53 jumped		
		53 whipped		
		54 walked		
55 what's		54 say	57 was parching	
56 what's		57 say	60 throwing	
58 ought to		57 bought		
59 that's		57 throwed		
60 ought		58 jumped		58 ought to killed
61 to eat		58 say		
62 eat		59 told		60 ought to killed
63 you eat		61 didn't have		
		61 just eat		
		62 wasn't		
		66 say		
		66 had		

TABLE 4--Continued

TENSES		ASPECTS	
GENERAL	PAST	INCOMPLETE,	COMPLETED
Persons 3rd P.Sing.			
	66 got		
	67 got		
	67 married		
	67 seperated		
	68 left		
76 to pay	68 know		
78 to get	68 was		
83 let	69 left		
	69 went		
	70 got (bis)		
	70 went		
88 I is	71 just say		
89 get	71 would		
90 to come	72 come		
	73 was (bis)		
93 had	74 died		
to pay	75 just left	75 hunting	
94 don't want	76 had		
to let	79 carried	77 was driving	
95 got	80 raise		
	80 had		
	81 call		
	82 kept		
	83 say (bis)		
	84 just had	84 keep a running	
	84 couldn't get		
	85 kept		
	86 come		
	87 thought	87 was going to pay	
	88 say	88 going to pay	
	89 say	89 I'm going to pay	
	90 told		
	91 did quit	91 did quit eating	
	92 ate		
	92 just ate		
	93 had		
	93 didn't do		
	93 promise		95 to be fed
	94 say (bis)		
	95 say		
	96 say	96 I'm going to keep	
	97 say		

TABLE 4--Continued

TENSES		ASPECT			
GENERAL	PAST	INCOMPLETE		COMPLETED	
Persons 3rd P. Sing.					
100 make	97 say				
101 go to	98 say				
101 to feed	98 just pay				
102 just let	98 was				
102 sure did	98 had				
104 to pay	99 was just				
	102 got	102 to working			
	102 paid				
	103 took				
	105 took				
110 to advance	106 went				
111 to get	107 bought				
	108 gived				
	109 took				
	110 went				
115 you know	110 got				
	111 had				
118 to live	111 had				
	112 wasn't				
118 to plant	113 just live				
	114 happen	114 going to			
119 to go	114 had				
	114 call			114	make
	115 had			117	could have got
	115 built				
121 to take	115 it just				
	115 did see			118	could have give
	116 kept				
	117 didn't see				
	117 didn't speak				
	118 had (bis)	118 I'm telling			
	118 work (bis)				
	119 just had				
	119 was able				
	120 had			120	could go
122 to pay	121 didn't know				
	122 had				
127 owe	122 say				
127 don't know	123 bought	122 going to try			
127 you go	124 had				
127 see	125 come				
127 you owe	127 say	127 going to tell			
	127 says	127 going to give			

TABLE 4--Continued

TENSES			ASPECT	
GENERAL		PAST	INCOMPLETE	COMPLETED
Person	3rd P. Sing.			
		128 went		
		128 didn't know		
		128 had		
		128 run		
		128 accounts		
		129 go		
130 don't know		130 gived		
130 to live		130 had (bis)		
130 to live		131 had to get rid of		
131 I don't know		132 had to pay		
131 to get rid		132 couldn't keep		
132 to pay		132 ain't never had		
133 don't know		133 had		133 would have done
134 know		136 had		
137 don't know		136 come	136 was working	
		136 didn't pay		
		138 didn't worry		135 would have been
		138 went		
		138 told		
		139 went		
		139 talk		
		140 say (bis)		
		141 paid		
		141 went		
		142 wouldn't pay		
		142 wouldn't pay		
		143 knowed		
144 don't know		143 needed (bis)		
145 to pay		143 paid		
147 to do		144 happen		
147 go		145 fix		146 could have went
147 try		145 had		
147 to make		147 wasn't		146 had a went
149 go		150 could catch		
150 to fish		151 caught		146 would have done
156 don't know		152 would go		
		153 seen		
		156 was	157 was working	
		157 seen	158 laying	148 I've fish
		157 run		148 we've fish
		157 had		
		158 bet		153 I've caught
		158 was		153 I been

TABLE 4--Continued

TENSES		ASPECT	
GENERAL	PAST	INCOMPLETE	COMPLETED
Persons 3rd P. Sing.			
161 go hunt	158 was		
161 find	159 use to be		
161 catch	160 never did		
162 hunt	165 gived		
162 got	165 clean		
162 want	169 was		168 done slip
	169 was		
164 reckon	170 was		172 I been
165 eat	171 just live		172 I've done
166 know	170 they knowed		173 I've worked
166 say	173 have		174 I been
salmon is	173 I've work		174 I have not
166 don't know	175 build		had
	176 fix		174 I been
	177 went		
	178 hire		
	179 hired		
	179 covered		
	180 see	180 do it	
	181 learn		
	181 build		
	182 tore		

in I be here this afternoon, Sometime he be busy and John be loosing money. This use of the invariant "be" has two explanations: deleted "will" or "would" and distributive "be."[3]

The 'll contraction of "will" is often absent before be. This is fairly common in Black English and Southern speakers but also happens in other non-standard dialects, and occasionally in standard speakers, giving sentences like "He be here pretty soon," and "He be sleeping at that time." The contracted form of "would" is /d/, which can be absorbed by the "be" of "be." This process is another source of invariant "be" in nonstandard dialects and is quite common in the standard speakers as well. A sentence like "If you gave him a present he be happy" is possible in standard and in nonstandard dialects.[4]

The other source for invariant "be" is very different. This type of invariant "be" occurs because "be" is possible in Black English with a meaning something like "object or event distributed intermittently in time."

---

[4]Ibid., pp. 160-161

This use of "be," as in "Sometime he be here and sometime he don't," occurs almost exclusively in Black English and is usually misunderstood by standard English speakers. It is common for standard English speakers to take this use of "be" as a deviant form of "am," "is," or "are," when in fact it contrasts with these forms. To say "I be good" means that the speaker is good only intermittently. Unlike the cases of invariant "be," which are derived from "will be" or "would be," this "be" usage is highly stigmatized socially. Because there are three ways in which "be" can appear as the main verb of a Black English sentence, "If somebody hit him, Darryl be mad" it is potentially ambiguous in three ways. If its source is by '<u>ll</u> deletion from "If somebody hits him, Darryl will be mad," it is a prediction about Darryl's future reaction to being hit. Example:

(83) yul ɉəs bi aw də ɪt.
You'll just be out of it.

If it is derived from '<u>d</u> absorption from "If somebody hit him, Darryl would be mad," it is a hypothesis about Darryl's usual reaction to being hit. The third interpretation illustrates "distributive" or "habitual" <u>be</u>.

Its meaning is: "Whenever somebody hits him, Darryl is regularly mad." This use of invariant be emphasizes the regularity, typicality, predictability of the assertion, allowing however for exceptions, even possibly in the informant's idiolect. Example:

(155) de bi awt de$^{\ominus}$.
they are generally out there.

Although scholars usually quote examples of habitual be that refer to present time or unspecified time, its use for occasions in the past is also attested.[5]

Absence of Forms "To Be"

For some speakers of Black English, especially children and rural Southern speakers, present tense forms of "to be" are removed as wholes without the intermediate contraction step. Their use of sentences such as "He good" is not a mere contraction like "He's good," which may not even occur in their speech, but is

---

[5]Ralph W. Fasold and Walt Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect." In Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy (eds.): Teaching Standard English in the Inner City (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970), pp. 66-68. Howard G. Dunlap also takes important notice of the "habitual 'be'" in his article, "Social Aspects of a Verb Form: Native Atlanta Fifth Grade Speech--The Present Tense of Be" (pp. 22-25), and offers a detailed analysis.

the result of a rule that optimally (but usually) deletes any present tense form of be (i.e., am, is, are). Speakers with this "is" deletion rule are in the minority among Black English speakers compared to those with the rule for the deletion of the third singular morpheme for other verbs.[6]

The form "are" is present less often than the form "is" in the speech of Black English speakers. "Are" is also absent in white Southern dialects of English that do not allow the absence of "is." The English contraction rule, as has been pointed out, provides for the removal of all but the final consonant of certain auxiliaries (are to 're, will to 'll, have to 've, etc.). In dialects that lack "r" after most stressed vowels, "are" has no final consonant (i.e., it is pronounced /ah/). Applying the contraction rule to this pronunciation eliminates the word "are" entirely, without utilizing the Black English rule for removing the consonant. Because of this, there are

---

[6] Walt Wolfram and Ralph Fasold, The Study of Social Dialects in American English (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1974), pp. 156-157.

speakers who have "are" absent but do not have "is" absent.[7]

In many instances, the informant omits the verb "be." In almost every instance, the omission was in the past tense: /wəz/. Examples:

(21) hi a gred bɪg fæt bɔy.
He was a great big fat boy.

(5) hit daw neᵊ we ay yus tə lɪv.
It was down there where I used to live.

When the subject is I, and the expected standard English form is am, am or its contraction 'm is almost always present. In the text, the informant never uses the full form /ay æm /, but always /aym / contracted sometimes to /əm/. Example:

(118) əm tɛlɪn̩ yu də truð.
I'm telling you the truth.

Perfective Tenses

The perfective constructions of the informant are consistent with the findings of Fasold and Wolfram in Teaching Standard English in the Inner City.[8]

In the informant's idiolect, regular formations

---

[8]Fasold and Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," p. 60.

of the perfective tenses occur. However, there are some divergences from standard grammar.

Table 5. Perfective Tense Chart

	Negro Dialect	Standard English
Present	I have walked	I have walked
Perfect	I('ve) walk(ed)	I've walked
Past Perfect	I had walked	I had walked I'd walked
Completive	I done walked	
Remote Time	I been walked	

The informant's perfective tense may be unmarked if clear in context. Examples:

(47-49) æn ǰəs ɪɪl fo hi ga dɛr, se hæ dən bɔ
and just little before he (had gotten)
there, (he) says, (he) had done bought
tu iᵊz ə kon frəm ə mæn æn šɛl
two ears of corn from a man and (had
ɪt ɒ puṭ ɪt ɪn ə skilɛṭ
shell(ed) it and (had) put it in a skillet
æn gon pač ɪt on ə fay,
and (was going to) parch it on a fire,
on dæ, dɛm log hip.
on that, them log heap(s).

(48) hi(had) šhɛl (ed) ɪṭ.

The informant frequently uses the completive "done." These forms are used in the text. Examples:

(162) done + past participle;
e.g., ðẽŋ dən slɪp

(47) have/had + done + past participle;
e.g., hæ dən bɔt

The informant's completive tense with "done" denotes a sense of finality; it emphasizes that an action has been completed. In the last example above, there is a combination of the perfective tense with the completive. It is currently significant that the act was completed with definitive finality.

"Going To" /goŋ tə /

The informant frequently uses the phrase "going to." This phrase takes on many levels of reduction in Black and Southern dialect.[9] The informant also reduces "going to" in his idiolect and for him it has two meanings; "was going" in form generally omits the copula, reduces "going" to gon, and reduces "to" to the schwa /ə/ or more commonly deletes 'tu ' altogether. Examples:

---

[9]Wolfram and Fasold, The Study of Social Dialects, p. 147.

(87) ʲɪmi, ay ðɔt yu wəz gon
Jimmy, I thought you was going to
pe fa də kon
pay for the corn

(121) æn dɪn ʲɛs se de ʲɛs
and then just say they (were) just
gon ə tray tə pe fə ɪt.
going to try to pay for it.

This expression has more use than merely to indicate the future or intention as in the first example (87). It also indicates emphatic determination or necessity. Example:

(87) ay se wɛl ay ɪz gon pe fa də kon.
I say well, I is going to pay
for the corn.

The expression "going to" also can be reduced to /aymo /. The informant keeps the copula, omits "going" and reduces /tu/. This form also carries the suggestion of determination. Examples:

(96) ay se aymo kip may kon.
I said I'm going to keep my corn.

(126) dɪn aymo tɛl yu wət aym o gɪa yu.
Then I'm going to tell you what
I'm going to give you.

Each of these forms is readily available to the informant and occurs frequently.

Sentence Structure

In the comparison of sentence structure in standard English and Black English, the differences, again, are found to be superficial. The basics of the language are the same. Therefore, the informant does have command of the basic sentence structures in standard grammar. However, there are some grammatical divergences from the speech of standard speakers in his idiolect.

Absent Subject

In many instances, the informant omits the subject in a sentence. Examples:

(140) də lɔd ǰɛs fɪks ɪt so ( )
The Lord jus fixed it so he
hæda pe mi.
had to pay me.

(47) hi sɛd ( ) hæd don bɔ tu ɪz ə kon
He said he had done bought two
ears of corn

This occurrence is also consistent with the findings of black and Alabamians' speech.[10]

---

[10]Juanita V. Williamson, "Selected Features of Speech: Black and White," in Juanita V. Williamson and Virginia M. Burke (eds.): A Various Language Perspective on American Dialects (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, Inc., 1971), p. 497. Deborah S. Harrison and Tom Trabaso explain this

Absent Subject and Copula

Sometimes both the subject and the copula are omitted by the informant. Example:

(13) ( ) ( ) ʃɛs ɪɪl bɪdi mɛnz yu no.
They were just little bitty mens,
you know.

Double Subject

The occurrence of a double subject for the informant seems to be a method of emphasis. Example:

(45) də ol ʃɛnəl, hi wəz əp
The old general, he was up
we sam we^{ə} ɛls.
way somewhere else.

(123) so ernɛs spɪnsə, hi bɔt dawn de^{ə}.
So Ernest Spencer, he bought down there.

Modal

In some instances, the modal was omitted in a sentence. However, the meaning was established through context. Example:

---

occurrence with great clarity in their discussion of the "Repetition of the Subject." See their chapter in Black English: A Seminar (New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1976), p. 65.

(64) yɛə, rɔ pətedə, yɛə. ɪnɨ ðɪŋ
Yeah, raw potatoe, yeah. Anything
yu ( ) gɪt ə hol əv.
you could get a hold of.

Omitted Object

In some cases, the informant omits the object of a transitive verb when Standard English would require its expression. For example:

(57) hɨ se ay bɔt tu ɨ^{ə}z a kon æn
He says I bought two ears of corn and
wəz paᶜɪn hɪə, æn hɨ
was parching them here, and he
ðod ɪt awt.
throwed it out.

Indirect Embedded Questions

The informant's sentences frequently are sentences that contain an indirect question. "Wh" questions (question words "who," "what," "where," etc.) can be embedded in the informant's sentences. The word order of "wh" questions is very rigid in Standard English, but black speakers have more freedom.[11]

---

[11]Robbins Burling, English in Black and White, p. 68. For more information on Indirect Questions, see Ronald Butters' article, "More on Indirect Questions," American Speech 51, Nos. 1-2:57-61.

	Standard English	Nonstandard English
Wh questions	Where can I go? What did they want?	Where can I go? Where I can go? What did they want? What they want?
Wh Questions in Embedded Sentences	I wonder where I can go. She asked them what they wanted	I wonder where can I go. She asked them what they wanted. She asked them what did they want.

One of the informant's sentences containing an embedded indirect question take the form of object/subject/verb. Example:

(8) æn hu hɪz məðə æn dædi
and who his mother and daddy
wi don no.
we don't know.

This embedded indirect question can also take the form of subject + verb + indirect object + governing sentence + object as in this example:

(129) æn frayde gɪd ɛm ay don no
And Friday gived him I don't know
haw mɪnɪ hənrɪd dalə.
how many hundred dollar.

There was one occurrence of an indirect statement without "that." Example:

(11) naw hi sɛd wen de lɛf ǰəǰə.
Now he said when they left Georgia.

Double Negatives

Double negatives or, more accurately, multiple negation, is another very common feature of nonstandard dialects. A frequent misconception about multiple negation is that it leads to misunderstanding because "two negatives make a positive." But in actual usage, sentences with multiple negatives are always understood as the speaker intends them, by other speakers of nonstandard English and usually by speakers of the standard dialects as well. In most contexts, standard English allows negatives to be expressed only once; nonstandard dialects have no such restriction.[12] There were several examples of "double negatives." Examples:

(132) ænt nɛvə hæd a ðawzən dɔlə
Ain't never had a thousand dollar

(132) na no ðawzən dɔlə
Not no thousand dollar

(142) wən nən tə du
Wasn't nothing to do

---

[12]Fasold and Wolfram, "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect," p. 70.

None of the examples differ significantly from the multiple negative endemic in popular American speech.

If a sentence has an indefinite noun phrase with or without a negative marker (nobody, nothing, no dog) before the verb, the negativized form of the verbal auxiliary (can't, wasn't, didn't, won't) may be placed at the beginning of the sentence in nonstandard dialects of Southern origin, including Black English. The result is sentences like Can't nobody do it, Wasn't nothing wrong. Although these sentences appear to be questions in their written form, the intonation of the spoken form in these dialects makes it clear that they are statements.[13] Example:

(142) wən nəðn tə du bə go gɪt səm mo.
Wasn't nothing to do but go get some more.

Conclusion

The idiolect of Jimmy Morrow reflects both his social dialect, namely Black English, and his geographical dialect; but it has as well certain features which are not noted in linguistic studies of these dialects.

---

[13]Wolfram and Fasold, The Study of Social Dialects, p. 167.

Most notably, Jimmy Morrow's idiolect conforms to linguistic studies of Black dialect. Many of the characteristics regularly discussed by linguists appeared in the text of this study. For example, his marking of the past tense of verbs conforms to that of the studies; the phonologically conditioned allomorphs are generally deleted, while the morphologically conditioned forms are maintained. Similarly, the informant uses the auxillary "done" to denote the aspects of finality in perfective verb phrases. The omission of the copula "be" and the use of the uninflected habitual "be" also reflect Black speech.

Second, many features of the informant's idiolect are characteristic of Alabama speakers and Southern/South Midland speakers.[14] This is most noticeable for

---

[14]"While we conclude that there are discrete Black-White speech differences in the South, we must also point out that the extent of these differences is not nearly as great as is sometimes claimed." The inventory of differences is far smaller than the inventory of similarities. Walt Wolfram, "Black-White Speech Differences Revisited," in Black-White Speech Relationships, eds. Walt Wolfram and Nona H. Clarke (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971), p. 156.

this study in the phonological features of Southern speech which affect morphemes of the pronoun and verb. One example is the identical enunciation of /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ when followed by a nasal. This leads to an identical unstressed form for objective case third singular and plural pronouns: /ɪm/. The absence of post-vocalic /r/ sometimes erases the distinction between "you" and "your," which both become /yə/. In part, this also accounts for the lack of distinction between "was" and "were."

There are other features, of course, which the idiolect shares with Southern and specifically Alabama speakers. For example, multiple negation, which occurs not only in Southern dialects but in all American unedited speech, was frequent. Another striking feature, although unrelated to this study, which the informant shared with his region, was vocabulary. Most of the unusual terms used by Jimmy Morrow in this text were cited in vocabulary listings of Southern and Alabama speakers.[15]

---

[15]For detailed word lists of Southern or Alabama speech, see L. W. Payne's article, "A Word List from East Alabama," American Dialect Society 3 (1912):284;

Although the idiolect of Jimmy Morrow is characteristic of Black dialect, and similar in many ways to Southern speech generally, the text shows many features which are inadequately discussed in the scholarly literature, if at all, or which in fact reflect his own individuality. One example is his usage of the impersonal "you" in contexts which cannot conceivably or theoretically include the audience. Another example is the variety of meanings for the adverb "just," meanings that range from "simply" to "surprisingly." A third example is his frequent omission of the subject or auxiliaries of verbs in unambiguous contexts.

Jimmy Morrow's idiolect is a reflection of his life. His social dialect and his geographical dialect are the two major influences on his speech. However, Jimmy Morrow, a man who has kept the "old" ways of life, his "old" manner of speaking, and his "old" morals and

---

Leah Dennis' article, "Word Lists from the South," American Dialect Society 2 (1944):10-40; Virginia O. Foscue's "A Preliminary Survey of the Vocabulary of White Alabamians," American Dialect Society 56 (November 1971):11-17.

beliefs, has an idiolect which, while reflecting dialects, most of all reflects his own character and individuality.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bailey, Richard, and Robinson, Jay. Varieties of Present-day English. New York: McMillan, Publishing Co., Inc., 1973.

Bolinger, Dwight. "To Catch a Metaphor: 'You' as a Norm." American Speech, 48 (Spring-Summer 1973): 5-20.

Brandes, Paul D., and Brewer, Jeutonne. Dialect Clash in America: Issues and Answers. New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977.

Brewer, Jeutonne. "Subject Concord of Be in Early Black English." American Speech, 48 (Spring-Summer 1973): 5-20.

Burling, Robbins. English in Black and White. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, Inc., 1973.

Butters, Ronald R. "More on Indirect Questions." American Speech 51, nos. 1-2 (1979):57-61.

Dennis, Leah A. "Word Lists from the South." Publication of the American Dialect Society 2 (November 1944):6-71.

Dillard, J. L. Black English, Its History and Usage in the United States. New York: Random House, 1972.

Dunlap, Howard G. "Social Aspects of a Verb Form: Native Atlanta Fifth-Grade Speech: The Present Tense of Be." Publication of the American Dialect Society, nos. 61-62 (April 1974):17-28.

Fasold, Ralph W., and Walt Wolfram. "Some Linguistic Features of Negro Dialect." In Teaching Standard English in the Inner City, edited by Ralph W. Fasold and Roger W. Shuy, pp. 41-86. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1970.

Fasold, Ralph W. Tense Marking in Black English: A Linguistic and Social Analysis. Virginia: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1972.

Foley, Lawrence. "A Phonological and Lexical Study of the Speech of Tuscaloosa County, Alabama." Publication of the American Dialect Society 58 (November 1972):34.

Foscue, Virginia O. "A Preliminary Survey of the Vocabulary of White Alabamians." American Speech 56 (November 1977):11-17.

Harrison, J. A. "Negro English." In Perspectives on Black English, edited by J. Dillard, pp. 150-160. The Hague, The Netherlands: Mouton and Co., 1975.

Harrison, Debra S., and Trabaso, Tom, eds. Black English: A Seminar. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1976.

McDavid, Raven I. "Changing Patterns of Southern Dialect." In Varieties of American English: Essays by Raven I. McDavid, edited by Anwar S. Di, pp. 48-54. California: Stanford University Press, 1980.

Payne, Jr., L. W. "A Word List from East Alabama." Dialect Notes 3 (1912):279-328.

Pederson, Lee. "Tape/Text and Analogues." American Speech 49, nos. 1-2 (1976):6-23.

Stageburg, Norman C. An Introductory English Grammar. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1965.

Whitley, Stanley M. "Person and Number in the Use of 'We,' 'You,' and 'They.'" American Speech 53, no. 1 (1978):18-35.

Williamson, Juanita V. "Selected Features of Speech: Black and White." In A Various Language Perspective on American Dialects, edited by Juanita V. Williamson and Virginia M. Burke, pp. 496-507. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1971.

Wolfram, Walt, and Clarke, Nona H., eds. Black-White Speech Relations. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics, 1971.

Wolfram, Walt, and Fasold, Ralph. The Study of Social Dialects in American English. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1979.